592

Mother of head, age 48
Grandfather of head, age 65
Younger brother, age 25
Younger brother, age 16
Younger sister, age 9
Younger sister, age 11
Younger brother's wife, age 25
Two nieces, ages 4 and 2, daughters of the eldest younger brother and his wife.

These examples, of which many more could be given, illustrate several points regarding the family system. It is not uncommon to have as many as four generations in a family unit, the present head, his parent, the children, and the grandchildren of the head. There are four generations in illustration #3. The combination of a first son and his wife, with his parents, his younger brothers and sisters, and the head's own children, a common composition, illustrates the responsibilities of the first son both to his parents and to his siblings. Responsibility for illegitimate children is with the family of the girl. Occasionally [848] a husband will accept an illegitimate child born to his wife either before or during the marriage, but it is more usual for the illegitimate child to be reared in the household from which the mother came. In the second illustration, one illegitimate daughter lives with her grandparents and the mother is not in the household. The third illustration shows an unusual situation in which the young head and his wife have their children, his mother, his grandfather, minor younger sisters and brothers, and, in addition, a married younger brother and his wife and their two children. Ordinarily these would have established a branch family and not have been part of the older brother's household.

At present, the commonest family compositions are (1) the biological family, (2) the family with a young eldest son as the head with the widowed mother and other minor brothers and sisters, a type of composition which has increased as a result of the war, (3) uncles, aunts, cousins, and occasionally unrelated persons may live in the house, (4) often grandparents are found with their grandchildren, (5) widows with minor children are also common, an incidence increased by war.

The percentage of widows in Hinatogawa, in addition to the casualties [62] of war, is due to the loss of fishermen at sea, a not uncommon tragedy [65] as the typhoon season coincides with the best fishing seasons. Since [58] widows with children seldom remarry, the family composition remains the same until the first son assumes the leadership of the family and the mother resides with him.

Each of the families making up the extended family is either a 596 main or a branch family. This arrangement is repeated in the individual [582] families as well. If we take as an example a family with both parents, a first son, a second son, and a first daughter, we may expect as a [591] normal development that the eldest son will marry between 24 and 27 and live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will

584 place, as it requires the participation of the principals and their families. Young country people are likely to hesitate before going against their parents' wishes, dispensing with a ceremony and the celebration which follows, and eloping to Naha or to some larger town.

In practice, events seldom reach this stage of differences in opinion. Some one will give way. An actual happening illustrates this point. A young man, a third son, about 20 years old, fell in love with a girl, aged 23, a bus driver's assistant. The boy wished to marry her, even though by present day standards he was young for marriage.[1] His parents objected to the match, not because of antipathy to the girl whom they liked, but because she was three years older than the boy. This is an interesting objection because formerly many wives were older than their husbands, although too great an age differential was considered a trifle ludicrous. Apparently in the older arranged marriage, parents intentionally selected a bride older than the husband. In the family registers, among the very old, the wife is often older than the husband. At present the girl is either younger or about the same age.

[582]

The boy acceded to his parents' wishes and did not marry the girl but kept on seeing her. Later the girl became pregnant. His parents discussed the matter among members of the extended family resident in the village, and, in much distress, consented to the marriage. Once the marriage was decided upon, there was no objection to the two living together.

[848]

836 Some premarital living together is found in Okinawa. The boy works on his own parents' fields and helps the girl's parents. The [583] girl reciprocates by helping at the boy's parents' home. During this time, the boy lives at home but spends the night with the girl at her home.

582 Young men normally do not get married until their 24th or 25th year, though there are cases of earlier marriages. Girls are in their early twenties. Earlier marriages may be an indication that a child is on the way. This relatively late age for marriage is not old in the culture. In older times, young people were married in their 13th [117] and 14th year. This practice gradually changed under Japanese rule.[2]

1 The Japanese word for love is ai-suru, but now one frequently hears the Japanese word rabu borrowed from the English love.

2 Writing in 1910 from personal observation, Simon said that with the "Japanisation" of the islands and the increased difficulty and expense in making a living, the time for marriage was postponed and that a marriage at 15 years was now an exception. Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 88 and 90. Schwartz, In Togo's country, 1908, writing of conditions around the turn of the century, says that marriages are contracted between the 14th and 17th year, p. 150.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Free choice in marriage does not mean that the family system will disintegrate because parents have lost control in selecting mates for their children. The family system is much more likely to break down if the head of a house must assume greater responsibility for the support of relatives, or if the young leave their homes and are scattered in the towns. 582 602

Trial marriage is said to be uncommon in Okinawa, but there does not seem to be any disapproval when it appears. Perhaps trial marriage is an inappropriate word, and living together prior to an intended marriage is a better term. In one case, a young man lived with his intended wife; sometimes he brought her to his parents' home. As his duties required some travelling, the girl often went with him. In Hanashiro, this custom is not practiced. When young people live together before marriage, with the parents' consent, they help one another's families with the daily chores. 583

Some married men have relations with other women, usually widows or unmarried girls, and have children by them. This is not rare, but it is by no means considered correct behavior. In one village, the first son with his wife and children live, as is customary, with his parents, but he continues to have relations with two unmarried women by whom he has had children. All three women live in the same village, know the situation, and manage to avoid one another fairly well. Naturally the wife is much disturbed by the arrangement. The man, now about 33, has 11 children by the three women. The children of the second and third women are classified in the family registers in the mother's family as illegitimate (shiseiji). This is an extreme case. 837 [848]

In another community, there was an instance of the effects of war and repatriation on a marriage. Before the war this man and his wife had emigrated to Saipan. She was afraid of the bombing and decided to return to her parents' home in rural Japan, to which her husband consented. He remained in Saipan and later lived with and married the girl who was his personal servant. They returned to Okinawa; he had a child by her and is now living with her. The new family register, made up after the war, does not show the old marriage. His first wife, whom he still admires, has written him, but he has not replied. While he expressed no regrets about the loss of the first wife, he talked about the second as if she were still a servant.

In the villages, the cases of a married man living with another woman, without any formal estrangement from the real wife, are in my opinion not uncommon--with the exception of Hanashiro. As one lives in a village and gradually hears confidences, departures from strict fidelity seem more frequent than appear on the surface. There is general agreement too that illegitimacy has increased since the 848

war.[5] The reasons given by the villagers are the increase in the number of widows and the present disproportion between young men and young women in the marrying ages.

One cannot generalise about attitudes toward illegitimacy. In two of the communities, Hinatogawa and Matsuda, my impression was that there had been a change from disapproval to tolerance. The current reaction was often described in the famous Japanese phrase which covers thousands of situations: shi kata ga nai ("It can't be helped"). In Hanashiro, opinion seemed much stronger against extra-marital relations and having an illegitimate child. One housewife said that any married woman or single woman who has an illegitimate child is dirty (kitanai). This was not so much a moral condemnation as the notion that she was unclean. Such a woman is spoken to but is not liked. There is also the problem that in the family system there is no place for an illegitimate child, unacknowledged by the father, except to grow up in the household of his mother. There is no public concealment. The village family register has the shisei-ji entry for any illegitimate child--and some of them are now very old men.

5 These and the following statements are necessarily qualitative as statistics were not available. Illegitimacy here refers to Okinawan parents. To my knowledge, in these villages, there were no children whose fathers had been members of the occupying force. Some apparent illegitimacy may occur when the marriage is recorded after the birth of a child (a common practice) and the register is not corrected. For this reason, it was difficult to evaluate the illegitimate entries in the family registers.

keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth, when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age. Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

were justified. Both children were slightly retarded, and people believed that this fact added even more proof.

An illegitimate child is loved by everybody and treated like any legitimate child. The bastard's name is listed in the registry under his mother's and his illegitimacy noted. Since World War II the distinguishing red ink mark is no longer used in recording these children. Unless the mother marries the child's real father, the offspring has no legal rights of inheritance. If she marries another man, the child may receive affectionate treatment from the stepfather, but he remains legally her son. Socially such a child does not suffer any form of ostracism, but adults make references to his status within his earshot. One such girl proudly said that people had told her that she was half-Japanese.

Legally a man cannot have more than one wife, but there are cases of multiple marriage even in Taira. It takes a substantial income for such an arrangement, since a second wife is given a separate place to live. A younger "wife" is usually taken if there is no male heir born by the legal wife or if the marriage remains childless altogether. A man, formerly a resident of the village, took a young concubine late in life after his sons were killed during the war. She bore him a son, apparently with the consent of the first wife, since there was amicable interaction between the two although they lived separately. The husband registers such children as his legal offspring.

Two modes of divorce are possible. A couple may agree to separate and call a family council of parents and relatives on both sides. The township office is then notified and separation acknowledged. Once children have been born, such divorces are not too frequent, at least there were few cases of divorced women with children in Taira. A husband may initiate a divorce by telling his wife of his desire to separate. Extra-marital relationships of the wife would be sufficient cause, as would be sterility, which is interpreted as her fault. In Taira a settlement within the family is the more frequent mode of divorce although relatively rare. One official estimated that the rate of divorce for the whole township is two per year. Among the 59 marriages we found listings for five subsequent divorces. During fieldwork, many debates about modernizing divorce laws were held among members of the Women's Association, which advocated the abolition of the unilateral emphasis that gave husbands all the rights and wives almost none. Only a crime committed by a man would be sufficient cause under existing law to permit the wife to initiate a divorce.

842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few
[843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old peo-
ple who expect them to continue bearing children until three male
[593] heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
[177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more children. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families,
744 looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers circulate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Okinawan public health department on this matter, and a few families actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control, abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these measures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registration and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; however . . . we could not say. . . ." • It is interesting to note that in
[732] Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion
●[848] is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot be." explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field, however; if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation
[461] reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work-
[522] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of pregnancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

• Personal communication from public health nurses.

161 The percentage growth categories used on Map 6 are as follows:

Negative Growth
Less than Okinawa Average of 22% Growth
23-39% Growth
40-100% Growth
Over 100% Growth

Population Increase During 1951 and 1952 The accelerated military construction program has been quite important in drawing people to the main island of Okinawa. This is shown by the fact that in the years 1951 and 1952 it gained over 47,000 inhabitants. More than 11,000 of these were contractors and construction workers from Japan. About 2,300 more such workers arrived from Japan in the first seven months of 1953.[1]

161 166 During this two year period, Okinawa's population increased by 5.55%. On Map 7 all areas with an increase of less than that amount are considered as areas of emigration. Those areas where the increase was more than 5.55% are shown as areas of immigration.

All urban areas except Ishikawa continued to grow. Goeku and Kadena, which had in the previous decade grown amazingly fast, continued to be among the fastest-growing 'son' on the island. On the other hand, Kunigami-son and the entire east coast north of Ishikawa City reversed the trend of growth noted on Map 6, and became areas of excessive migration. In part this was due to the improvement of roads along the east coast, thus making the urban trek easier. But it owed just as much to the demand for skilled carpenters, who were abundant along the east coast.

If data were available at the 'aza', or village area level, the urban trend could be localized with greater accuracy. Military government personnel concerned with problems on the island relative to urbanization and its pace are advised to work with population data on the village ('aza' or 'ku') level if greater accuracy is desired. This information is rarely if ever presented in that detailed form to agencies of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and local inquiry must be made.

162 The Sex Ratio Okinawa shares with most of the Orient a great density of population per arable acre of land. Aside from this, the outstanding fact about the population of Okinawa is the great preponderance of women over men. There are about 90 men for every 100 women in this area.[2] This excess of women is reflected in such sociological phenomena as prostitution, illegitimate and common law children, women functioning as heads of households, and a high fertility ratio. The reasons for the excess are somewhat complex, but the most important factor is the recent war, in which many

[167] [101] [548] [548] [162] [163]

1 CAARI, p. 78.

2 The standard demographic definition of sex ratio is "the number of men for each 100 women."

[Koohinda-son]

162 592 This is true in 32 cases, or 9.54% of the households in this category containing more than one person. Another reason is that of the illegitimate children born to women household heads, more boy babies are registered as [848] legal children by their fathers than is the case with girl babies. Of the illegitimates living in households headed by women, 19 were female, 11 were male, and an additional seven were in the class "sex unrecorded". If the same proportion are girls as is true of "common law children", this would indicate a surplus of illegitimate females.[1]

Additional Three other categories relating to household head status were analyzed. The data were cross-filed from the above categories. There were sixty-seven cases of father or grandfather not functioning as household head, but living. Or in other words, retirement of males. Persons under twenty-one years of age functioning as household heads were counted, as were household heads living alone.

162 592 886 1. Retirement: In the category of retired fathers or grandfathers, we find that in 59 of the 67 cases retirement was in favor of a first son. In seven cases retirement was in favor of a grandchild first son, and in one instance in favor of a son's wife. The ages of the retired oldsters ran from 51 to 87, with 33 of the 67 instances being between the ages of 60 to 70 inclusive. The median age was 65, and the average age was roughly 66.5.

162 592 597 2. Living Alone: In the second additional category, household heads living alone, we find 166 cases. Thirty of these cases, or 16%, were orphans under twenty-one years of age. Twenty-two of these were male and eight female, thus showing a greater tendency for female orphans to be adopted. Male orphans are not often adopted, because relatives want them to grow up to be the heads of their deceased fathers' households.

162 592 With regard to division by sex, 89 were males. Of these, 21, or 24%, were born before 1900. Of the 77 females, 39 (51%) were born before 1900, thus giving another instance of the longevity of women.

3. Minors: In the third supplementary category of minor household heads, the mother was living in 79 instances and deceased in 69 instances. One father and four grandfathers were still living, but retired. In all these five cases the mother was also still living. There was an overwhelming tendency for the first son to be household head, followed by second sons and first daughters equally. The full range is shown below:

Table VI

First Sons	110	Fifth Sons	1
Second Sons	11	Second Daughters	1
First Daughters	11	Common Law (boy)	1
Third Sons	5	Illegitimate (girl)	1
Fourth Sons	4	Adopted Son[2]	1
Sons, Unknown Birth Order	2		
Total			148

1 Refer to "Common Law Children---Numbers", p: 112.

2 This boy's birth order was second son in his family of orientation.

[Kochinda-son]

582 For the 114 in-village marriages the average age of the wife at date marriage was recorded was 21.2 years. For the husbands in this category the average was 23.5 years. Both these averages are consistently lower than the averages for out-village marriages---it apparently takes longer to search farther afield. In addition, one often hears the country belief that the more education a man has, the farther away he goes for a wife.

The 150 out-village marriages recorded include 117 women living in Kochinda-son, and 33 women who have married to men outside the 'son'. Of these 33 women, those who married men from relatively far away numbered nineteen, and those who married men living in villages relatively close to their parents' village were fourteen in number. One of the first group married an American serviceman from Kansas. One of the outside-the-'son'-marriages involved a woman fifty years of age who was marrying for the second time. For the remaining 32 marriages---all of which were first marriages---the average age of the woman involved was 22.5 years.

Of the 117 out-village women who married within Kochinda-son, twenty-seven came from rather far away, forty from non-contiguous 'aza' relatively close, and fifty from neighboring, or areally contiguous, 'aza'. The average age of the 117 husbands was 25.0 years. This figure is reduced to 24.9 years if the men over 40 are eliminated. The average age of the wives[1] was 22.1 years, an average reduceable to 21.9 years if women over forty are eliminated.

587 Second Marriages In the normal course of events a certain number of people will marry for the second time. The Navy Civil Affairs Handbook indicates that "...about twice as many men as women remarry after being widowed or legally separated." A considerable number of the postwar marriages analyzed under the spacing of births category above were second marriages. It is of course not possible to ascertain the percentage of these, inasmuch as they are not listed as such in the temporary 'koseki'.

[614] Lebra was told that in a first marriage men tended to wed women from within the munchu (extended patrilineage) rather than from outside the munchu, and that in a second marriage they tended to marry outside the munchu.

588 "Common Law Children": Definitions In addition to legally recorded marriages, there are those unions producing children who have no legal claim as heirs to their fathers' property. If the father recognizes the child as his own, it is given his family name, and entered into the 'koseki' as a 'shoshidan', if a boy, and a 'shoshijo', if a girl. In this report these will be called "common law children", though the reader must realize that 'shoshi' is not the exact equivalent of the phrase "common law" as it is used in the United States.

831
848

[1] Only the ages of 116 wives could enter this calculation; no birthdate was available for one wife, though the other data for the marriage were complete.

[Kochinda-son]

If the child's father refused to admit paternity or is unknown, the child is registered as a 'shiseiji', or "privately born child", in the 'koseki' of the mother. In this report 'shiseiji' will be referred to as "illegitimates". There are rare cases where a young man may claim the illegitimate child, but will not permit its mother's name to be registered. 588 848 851

Numbers In Kochinda-son there were registered in the 'koseki' 57 common law children. Of these, 26 were born prior to 1 January 1946; that is, 46% of the total were conceived prior to the invasion of 1 April 1945. It is more likely than not that many prewar cases of illegitimacy were not registered in the temporary postwar 'koseki' from which this information was taken. The remaining 31, comprising 54% of the total, were born after 1 January 1946.

The 57 were divided by sex as follows: female---31, male--22, not accurately recorded--4. Even if the indeterminate ones are all male, it means that there is a preponderance of females. This low sex ratio may help to balance the extremely high sex ratio noted above for first birth children of parents who reported the marriage after the birth of their first child. For comparative purposes, the data are repeated below:

Table XVII

	First Born Child a Boy	First Born Child a Girl
Marriages Recorded Before First Birth	51	55
Marriages Recorded After First Birth	45	24
Total	96	79

Birth Years One prewar common law child does not have a birthdate recorded, although internal evidence in the 'koseki' indicates that he was born sometime in the period between 1939 and 1941 inclusive. The years of birth of the remaining 56 common law children, of all ages, is shown below: 848 851

Table XVIII

Year Born	Number of Children
1954[1]	3
1953	4
1952	4
1951	4
1950	6
1949	3
1948	3

[1] This is for the first three months of 1954 only.

[Kochinda-son]

Table XVIII, cont'd.

• 848
851

Year Born	Number of Children
1947	1
1946	3
1945	2
1944	5
1941	3
1940	2
1939	1
1938	1
1937	3
1934	1
1933	1
1932	1
1929	2
1928	2
1916	1
Total:	56

Fathers There were 53 fathers responsible for the 57 offspring. In two cases one man fathered three common law children. In half the cases, the age of the father at the date of the child's birth is not known. The ages of the other 25 fathers ranges from 15 years eleven months to 60 years ten months. The age period 20-30 inclusive contains 19 fathers of common law children. It may be assumed that the 50% of fathers whose age data at the birth of their common law children are missing would tend to follow much the same distribution. The birth orders of the prewar and postwar fathers in the 20-30 year age group are shown in Table XIX, with comments on each case.

Table XIX

Birth Order of Fathers of Common Law Children Born Before the Invasion	Comments on the Fathers of Common Law Children
First Son	Has only one common law child. Has eight children by his legal wife.
Second Son	The common law child was his first. He has had five legal children since.
Second Son	He is household head. The common law child is his first daughter. His first wife was either sterile or was killed in the war and her children married off or killed. He is eighteen years older than his second wife, by whom he has had one daughter and three sons since marriage.

[Koohinda-son]

(Birth Orders...)	(Comments...)
Second Son	He was born in 1887, and was a 'yōshi'. The common law child was born in 1915, has fathered three daughters and two sons, and is uncle to an illegitimate child. 848 851
Third Son	He had an illegitimate child, and admitted paternity eight years later, thus making it a common law child so that it could go to school without stigma. His legal wife had borne him two sons.

Birth Order of Fathers of Common Law Children Born After the Invasion	Comments....
First Son	He is unmarried, and lives with two teen-age younger brothers.
First Son	Unmarried first son of a father in first case of this tabulation.
First Son	He is married, but his legal wife has had no children yet.
First Son	He is unmarried and lives with his parents.
First Son	He is unmarried and lives with his mother and his common law child.
First Son	He is unmarried, lives with his parents, a younger brother and the brother's wife.
Second Son	He is unmarried, and is living with his mother and his common law child, a son.
Second Son	Lives with his elder brother and family, where he cares for his common law daughter.
Second Son	He is unmarried, and is living with father, elder brother and brother's wife.
Second Son	He is unmarried, lives with his father and younger brother.
Third Son	He married two years after the birth of his common law child, but his wife is not the child's mother. He lives with his mother, who is legal household head.

(Birth Orders...)	[Kochinda-son] (Comments...)
Fourth Son	He has had a son and daughter by his legal wife, and three children by his "secret wife." He had the third common law child after the age of thirty.
Fifth Son	He is unmarried and lives with his parents. His elder sister has had an illegitimate child.

Mothers The ages of the mothers at birth of the common law child were available in only thirty, or 53%, of the 57 cases. One half of the first births occurred to mothers aged 17 to 24 years inclusive. The range of mothers' ages at first common law births was from seventeen years ten months to forty years one month.

Registration Thirty births were registered in the 'koseki' of the fathers, and twenty-two in the mothers' 'koseki'. One common law child had become a 'yōshi', and it could not be determined where he had been registered. Four were adults whose 'koseki' registration at time of birth was unascertainable.

Illegitimate Children In the Kochinda-son 'koseki' at time of copying, 112 persons were registered as having been born "illegitimate", or 'shiseiji'. Twenty-eight of these, or 25%, were born prior to 1 January 1946. That is, these were conceived before the invasion. The remaining 84, constituting 75% of the total, were born after 1 January 1946. As of 31 December 1953 there were 106 living registered illegitimates.[1]

Mothers Because there were nine cases of women who had two illegitimate children, a total of 103 mothers were involved. Of those nine mothers bearing double illegitimates, six were widows. In two of the nine cases the children were fourth and fifth order births. In two cases they were third and fourth order births---one of the latter were twins. In three cases the children were first and second order births, and were first and third order in another instance. There was one case in which the mother had probably had legal children who were war dead. The birth orders of the mothers are as follows:

Table XX

Birth Order of Mothers	Number of Mothers
First Daughter	38
Second Daughter	23
Third Daughter	10
Fourth Daughter	6
Fifth Daughter	1
Birth Order Unknown	24
Total:	103

[1] Two had become common law children, one became a legal child, two had died, and one was not born until January 1954.

[Koohinda-son]

Table XXII

• 848

Relationship of Legal Household Head to Illegitimate Child	Number of Illegitimate Children Involved
Mother	27
Mother's Father	23
Elder Brother	10
Mother's Elder Brother	9
Mother's Younger Brother	9
Mother's Mother	8
Mother's Husband	5
Uncle[1]	4
Self	3
Father	2
Grandfather[2]	2
Mother's Former Husband	2
Mother's Sister-in-Law	1
Mother's Adopted Son	1
Mother's Husband's Mother	1
Mother's Deceased Husband's Mother	1
Mother's Adoptive Father	1
Husband's Father[3]	1
Husband's Elder Brother[3]	1
Unknown	1
Total:	112

Information on the age and marital status of the 106 illegitimates as of 31 December 1953 indicated that two were married and over 21 years of age; one was married and under 21 years of age; the remaining 103 were unmarried minors.

Comparison with Other Areas It is interesting to compare the figures for the thirteen villages comprising Kochinda-son with the data from the villages of Kanegusuku and Kitazato. The relationship of household head to the illegitimate child was the mother in four instances, the mother's parents in six instances, and a sibling of the mother in eighteen instances. The breakdown is given below:

Table XXIII

Relationship of Legal Household Head to Illegitimate Child	Kanegusuku Illegitimates	Kitazato Illegitimates	Total
Mother	1	2	3
Mother's Husband	1	-	1
Mother's Mother	2	1	3
Mother's Father	1	2	3
Mother's Sister	-	1	1
Mother's Brother	7	10	17
Total:	12	16	28

1 It is not certain whether he is the mother's or father's brother.
2 Whether he is mother's father or father's father was not ascertainable from the 'koseki' record.
3 These two illegitimates are married; their pre-marital relationship to the household head in the family of their orientation is not known.

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A total of nine households contain the illegitimates of Kanegusuku, as do nine households in Kitazato. In the latter village, one household has six illegitimates. Lebra, who collected the above information, comments: "A straight 'koseki' count for Kanegusuku indicated a total of 32 illegitimates for the village, with a 'koseki' population of 589. A house-to-house check and consultation with the village mayor ('kuchō') resulted in a population of 501 and only 12 illegitimates. A recheck indicated that most were transient families that settled in the village temporarily following the war, some were from the former fifth 'han' of Kanegusuku (now a part of Itoman), and a small number were Kanegusuku people who moved elsewhere." 848

"The Kitazato figures above are based on a straight 'koseki' count. However, unlike Kanegusuku, the 'koseki' count and that of the 'kuchō' are so close that I accepted the former as reasonably accurate although I suspect that it is a bit lower. The 'kuchō' explained the discrepancy as being due to the great number of 'seinen' (youth) who have gone to the city for work and have not taken their 'koseki' with them."

Birth Order Of the 94 cases of single illegitimates, twenty (21.3%) were not children of first order birth. Of these twenty, sixteen were offspring of widows. The birth orders of single illegitimates are shown below:

Table XXIV

Birth Order	Number of Children
First Child	74
Second Child	12
Third Child	3
Fourth Child	4
Fifth Child	1
Total:	94

Season of Birth The chart of the month and year of births of illegitimates presented below is suggestive of possible relationships of date of conception of illegitimates to both international events and local holidays.

Table XXV

Birth Month	'53	'52	'51	'50	'49	'48	'47	'46	'45	Pre-'45	Month of Conception	Total Births
Jan.	1		3	1		2	2		1	1	April	11
Feb.		2			1	1	1			3	May	8
Mar.		2	2	1				1		3	June	9
Apr.	1			1	2	1					July	5
May	4		3	1						4	August	12
June		1	2	1	1					3	September	8
July	1	2		1	2	2	1	1		1	October	11
Aug.	1	1		2	2		1	2		2	November	11

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Table XXV, cont'd.

Birth Month	'53	'52	'51	'50	'49	'48	'47	'46	'45	Pre-'45	Month of Conception	Total Births
Sept.	1		4	1						1	December	7
Oct.		1	1		2					1	January	5
Nov.	1	2	4	1	1					5	February	16
Dec.	1		1			1			1	1	March	6
Total:	11	11	20	10	11	7	7	5	2	25		109[1]

The number of illegitimate children born in the year and a half following the outbreak of the Korean War doubled. The demoralization and uncertainty which accompanied the withdrawal of United Nations forces may be reflected in the rise in illegitimacy. Similarly it is seen that the rate returned to its postwar normal course with the advance of the fighting to positions nearer the Thirty-eighth Parallel.

Interesting also is the "season of conception" pattern that is suggested by the above chart. The greatest number of mothers were impregnated in February, which in most years contains the Lunar New Year's season. It is the occasion for much visiting around and many parties. The month containing the next highest number of impregnations is August. This is the month of the O-bon season, when community contests are held, and 'awamori' flows even more freely than usual. October and November---seasons of cooperative rice harvest---and April, the month of lunar sangwachi sannichi (Third Month, Third Day---Women's Festival), are the months of the third most frequent impregnations, or conceptions.

To some extent this approximates the season of birth pattern for Okinawa Gunto in 1951 and 1952:

Table XXVI

Month of Birth	Births 1951[2]	Births 1952[2]	Total Births 1951-1952	Month of Conception
January	2,347	2,056	4,403	April
February	1,876	2,108	3,984	May
March	2,108	1,837	3,945	June
April	1,713	1,713	3,426	July
May	1,711	1,563	3,274	August
June	1,575	1,396	2,971	September
July	1,602	1,366	2,968	October
August	1,851	1,449	3,300	November
September	1,792	1,868	3,660	December
October	2,326	2,245	4,571	January
November	2,414	2,106	4,520	February
December	1,753	2,268	4,021	March

1 This excludes two whose birthdate data were not complete, and one born in 1954.

2 Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 77.

[Kochinda-son]

January, February and April lead in total numbers of births. However, August is the lower fourth in number of conceptions. The possible relationship suggested above awaits validating or disproving when more 'son' can be studied in order to obtain a larger sample. The subject is here mentioned in order to provide researchers with a new path of inquiry. 163

Widows as Mothers of Illegitimates Twenty-nine widows are mothers of 35 illegitimate children. One had twins, and five other widows had illegitimate children in tandem. In the months of February, August, April, October and November, 19 widows conceived illegitimate children, while in the remaining seven months only 15 illegitimates were conceived. The sample involved here is too small to do more than suggest a possible correlation of date of conception and festivals. The possibility should be kept in mind, however, by anyone who does further research on Okinawan population. 848 • 163

Mixed Blood Illegitimates There are only two registered illegitimates in Kochinda-son who have non-Okinawan fathers. Both are from one village, and neither are included in the above analysis. The 'son' office personnel said that they have heard of about seven or eight more, but that they are not registered as such in the 'koseki'. According to them, the children of mixed blood are probably not registered at all, and will not be until they become of school age. 848 [44]

Connections with Divorce Three illegitimate children were the cause of divorces. One husband divorced his wife upon the birth of her illegitimate child, and sent her and the child back to her parents' home. Another husband recorded the divorce of his wife and the adoption by him of her illegitimate daughter the same day. In the third instance, the widow of a man killed in the war bore an illegitimate girl child. The widow's parents-in-law forced her to return to her family and to record in the 'koseki' a divorce from her deceased husband. 848 586

Accuracy of Figures There are more illegitimates in the 'son' than are registered in the 'koseki' as such. Quite often in the prewar period---and possibly even now---the husband's child by another woman was recorded as the son or daughter of his legal wife. In one case the 'koseki' record showed one woman as bearing two children seven months apart. Investigation showed that the above method of recording had been used. The same method of concealment is often used when a man's unmarried daughter bears a child. 848

Postwar Divorces While there were 264 postwar marriages recorded in the 'koseki' of Kochinda-son, 54 postwar divorces were entered into the record for the same period. This would indicate a rough divorce rate of 20.4 in Kochinda. Since in America one in four marriages ends in divorce[1], and in Japan the rate (as of 1949) is 9.7, it is clear that the Okinawan divorce rate much more closely resembles the American. This Okinawan rate is confirmed by the 1952 statistics, which showed a rate of 20.3 (3,220 marriages and 653 divorces)[2] for Okinawa Guntō. 586 [171]

1 George C. Homans, The Human Group, p. 276.
2 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, p. 1.

cause misfortune; the ability to do this, he says, is hereditary from mother to daughter. My informants did not identify ichijama with the mabui or any other such entity, but merely explained it as a kind of 'noroi', "curse". Its effect is a sharp pain inside the body or the feeling that a fingernail has been thrust into the eye. If the person responsible is known, they said, the affliction may be cured by spitting in his direction and throwing pig dung in his direction, shouting, "I smear it on your face!" According to Yanagida, a yuta can cure an afflicted person by squeezing his thumb, which causes the thumb of the person responsible to be crushed. 754 [756]

Illness may also be caused by gods or local spirits as punishment for the breaking of tabus. For example, at Yamazato in Chinen-son it was said that on the 1st, 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month the "mountain god" (yama nu kami) makes a circuit of inspection of the mountain behind the village and therefore one cannot go to cut trees or grass on those days for fear of punishment. 753 784

But probably the most frequent interpretation of illness and misfortune is that it is caused by ugwambusuku, an insufficiency of worship (from ugwang, "worship" and fusuku, "insufficiency"). As has been explained, the dead can influence the lives of the living for good or bad. If the ancestors of a family are well cared for, that is, receive the proper offerings and worship, they may help that family to prosper and multiply, but on the other hand, if the ancestors are not cared for they will let the family know of their needs by some light illness, or, if their needs are still ignored, by some greater misfortune. They may not deliberately mean to harm their descendants; the misfortune may be automatic; this point is not clear. At any rate, the fear of ugwambusuku appears to be a very common anxiety and to play a central role in the whole structure of ancestor worship. Various religious practitioners and diviners, but particularly the yuta, are frequently called upon to try to determine where the insufficiency lies, what deceased person has not received his full share of worship and is therefore causing the current illness or other misfortune. To account for such illnesses and misfortunes the yuta and others may have revelations (shirashi) which revise the family's genealogy and even reveal the existence of hitherto unknown ancestors. 753 769 775 [152] [756] [787]

The insufficiency is not always of worship of the ancestors, although this is probably the most frequent type. Illness may also be caused by an insufficiency of worship of the Fire God. It is said that if an illegitimate child or the child of a secondary wife does not worship at least once at the Fire God of his shiji ("line") that is, the Fire God of his father's family, he may become ill. Thus it is not uncommon for the mother of an illegitimate child to bring it to the house of its father and ask to let it pray once to the Fire God there. This practice may also, of course, serve to demonstrate paternity. 753 782 [848] [851]

Also probably related to the concept that the ancestors influence the living is the practice of establishing a fictitious adoptive relationship between a child and an unrelated family. If a child is weakly its mother may ask an unrelated adult to become the yashinae-uya, "adopted parent", 769 753